

SHIFTING VALUES IN MALTA AND WESTERN EUROPE*

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Values in Malta, just as in other Western European societies, are shifting towards greater individualisation. Such a process refers to the growing autonomy of individuals in developing their own values and norms, increasingly turning away from traditional and institutionalised value systems. Individualisation and its concomitant secularisation is believed to be an ongoing and irreversible social process.

What follows is an abridged comparative report based on results from the third wave of the Values Survey undertaken for the Maltese Government by Misco International (1995) in comparison to similar surveys held in ten western European countries and in Malta by Gallup in 1984 and 1991.

Priorities

People in Malta have come to give more importance to leisure and friends but less to work. They retain their high attachment to the family and religion but give less importance to politics. The order of priorities for what people in Malta consider to be important in life are the family, work, religion, leisure, friends and politics. [Table 1]

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Cultural Pluralism

Over the past decade there has been a considerable improvement in people's ability to be with others whose ideas, values and beliefs are different from their own. Those who dislike very much to be with others of different values has decreased from 20% in 1984 to 11% in 1991 and 6% in 1995; whereas the percentage of those who do not dislike at all to be with different others has increased from 44% in 1984 to 54% in 1991 and 65% in 1995. [Table 2]

The observed high level of intolerance of the Maltese towards people with social problems or other nationalities, religions and cultures has remained stable and in some respects has increased over the past decade. In fact, the values study in 1995, finds Maltese respondents equally and sometimes more unwilling to have as neighbours people with a criminal record, heavy drinkers, the emotionally unstable, people with AIDS, drug addicts, homosexuals, Jews, Hindus, Muslims, tourists, members of minority religious sects or cults, people of a different race, immigrants or foreign workers. [Table 3]

National pride, locality and European belonging

Relative to other Europeans, the Maltese remain very proud of their nationality. Over the past few years, since the setting up of the local Councils, more people in Malta feel a sense of belonging to the locality or town in which they live. Fewer respondents have a sense of belonging to their country as a whole. There has been an increase in the percentage of respondents who identify Europe as their second geographical area of belonging (from 9% in 1991 to 14% in 1995, comparable to 12% for the average in Western Europe).

Trust and solidarity

There has not been any improvement in people's trust towards each other. In 1995 just as in 1991, 23% of respondents in Malta, compared to 34% in western Europe, think that most people can be trusted, whereas 75%, in contrast to 59% in western Europe, hold that 'you cannot be too careful in dealing with people'. In Malta, the greatest majority have complete trust in the members of their family but not in other people. The percentage of respondents in Malta who think that people

are less willing to help each other has increased from 49% in 1984 to 59% in 1995. The observed cultural and social pluralism does not seem to be accompanied by a greater acceptance of different others in the community. Nor has there been any improvement in the perception of mutual help in society.

Shifts in voluntary work

Membership in voluntary organisations has shifted from the traditional religious and political organisations to more secular and post-materialist groups. In 1995, 41% of Maltese respondents, compared to 37% in 1984 and 1991, were found to belong to a social organisation, and 34% to do voluntary work with this organisation. Over the years there has been a gradual decline in membership of religious organisations and political parties but an increase in sports or recreational groups, trade unions, environmental groups and social welfare organisations.

Shifts in religion

In 1995, just as a decade ago, the greatest majority of respondents in Malta were found to belong to the Roman Catholic Church and to hold high levels of traditional belief. Most respondents go to Church at least once a week and hold religious services to mark the birth of a child, marriage or a death in the family. In spite of the continuation of the external manifestation of religion there has been a steady erosion of religious identity. People who think of themselves as religious have declined from a high of 94% in 1984 to 73% in 1991 and 65% in 1995. The non-religious have increased from 4% in 1984 to 25% in 1991 and 33% in 1995.

The percentage of respondents who find God very important in their life (scoring 9 or 10 on a ten-point scale) has decreased from 88% in 1984 and 84% in 1991 to 77% in 1995, still remaining very high in contrast to a low of 27% for the average in western Europe. Those who find comfort and strength from religion have decreased from 94% in 1984 to 86% in 1995, in comparison to 50% for the average in western Europe. In 1995, fewer Maltese spend time in meditation, contemplation or prayer. Relative to western Europe, however, most Maltese pray often (53%, 25% in Europe) or sometimes (36%, 26% in Europe) outside of religious services.

Over the past decade, people's confidence in the Church, just as in all the other social institutions, has been steadily in decline. The percentage of Maltese respondents who have a great deal of trust in the Church has declined from 67% in 1984 to 54% in 1991 and 46% in 1995. However, it by far surpasses all other institutions where the closest level of confidence is given to health services (33%). It seems that over the years there has been a general disaffection with all social institutions, possibly because people have come to be more self-reliant for their personal needs and decisions in life. [Table 4, 5]

The declining confidence in the Church as an institution is also manifest in the lesser relevance of its teaching. Except for a constant high level of satisfaction with the answers given by the Church in Malta on spiritual matters (84% in 1984, 87% in 1991 and 86% in 1995) there has been a gradual decline in satisfaction with the Church's teaching on the moral problems and needs of the individual (from 70% in 1984 to 51% in 1995), the problems of family life (from 79% in 1984 to 61% in 1995) and the social problems facing the country (from 68% in 1991 to 39% in 1995). In contemporary society people find the guidance of the Church to be relevant on spiritual matters, but are increasingly critical of simplistic, dogmatic or universal solutions to moral problems of the individual or to the increasingly complex issues of family and social life. [Table 6]

In the mid-nineties, the majority of respondents in Malta, similar to the average in western Europe, are of the opinion that "there can never be clear and absolute guidelines about good and evil. What is good and evil depends entirely on the circumstances at the time." Much fewer think that "there are absolutely clear guidelines about what is good and evil, and that these always apply everywhere, whatever the circumstances."

At the same time, people in Malta find it increasing appropriate for the "Churches", which in Malta could refer to a multiplicity of Church commissions, movements, groups, religious programmes on the media, or individual priests, to speak out on complex and controversial issues such as abortion, human rights, divorce, Third World problems, disarmament, racial discrimination, euthanasia, extramarital affairs, and to a lesser extent on homosexuality, unemployment, ecology and the environment but not so much on government policy.

As Maltese society becomes more pluralistic and open to a western European culture, there occurs a shift from an absolute morality towards a more relativistic

and individualised ethics. People are less willing to subscribe to traditional church morality; they want to be autonomous and responsible, and shape moral decisions through the exercise of reason and spiritual discernment. In a democratic society, the Church has the task to work out and propose reasonable solutions to social problems, without imposing pre-formulated solutions to its members and society at large.

Marriage and family values

Family life has remained by far the highest value for the Maltese, even if over the past few years there has been a measure of dissatisfaction. Fewer Maltese respondents are completely satisfied with their home life (60% in 1995, 76% in 1991, score '9' or '10' on a 10-point satisfaction scale), though much more satisfied than the average in Europe (41%).

More respondents in Malta are legally married (70%) than in western Europe (56%), much fewer live as married (1% in Malta, 4% in Europe), are divorced or separated (1% in Malta, 4% in Europe), but they are equally widowed (8%) or single (21% in Malta, 23% in Europe).

The greatest majority of respondents in Malta (93%) but fewer in western Europe generally (76%) do not agree with the statement that "marriage is an outdated institution". More respondents in western Europe (17%) than in Malta (5%) are of the opinion that marriage is an outdated institution.

Over the past decade there has been a shift in priorities from material concerns and the sharing of common qualities towards self-fulfillment and the development of one's personality in marriage. More importance is given to faithfulness, mutual respect and appreciation, understanding and tolerance and happy sexual relations and increasingly less to shared religious beliefs, children, same social background, tastes and interests in common, sharing households chores, an adequate income, good housing or agreement on politics. A considerable importance is still attached to living apart from in-laws, possibly because distance from the extended family is very important for the self-determination of newly constituted families. Such a shift signals a departure from conformity to traditional values of the family and a movement towards more intrinsic values.

Liberal sexuality

In the intervening years between the surveys there has been a considerable increase in the importance attached to sexuality. People feel more free to express their liberal views on sexuality.

The percentage who tend to agree with the statement that people should have complete sexual freedom without any restriction has doubled from 6% in 1991 to 12% in 1995. The recorded increase, however, is a shift from no answer questions to affirmative replies.

Sixteen percent approve for a woman who wants to have a child as a single parent without a stable relationship with a man. Fewer respondents in 1995 than in 1991 share the same sexual attitudes with their parents, but the greatest majority share sexual attitudes with their partner.

Maltese respondents have become slightly more permissive on sexual matters but still relatively very conservative by western European standards such as extra-marital affairs, divorce and homosexuality but have kept a very strict morality on prostitution, abortion and sex with minors. [Table 7]

Homosexuality and homosexuals

Over the years people in Malta have become more accepting of 'homosexuals', even if by Western European standards they remain highly censorial of 'homosexuality'. Respondents who would never justify 'homosexuality' has decreased from 75% in 1984 to 68% in 1995.

In 1995, 94% of Maltese respondents hold that homosexuals have rights as anybody else, and 82% say that they will not change their attitudes towards a friend whom they discover to be homosexual. However, 69% of respondents find homosexual tendencies in a partner as sufficient reason for disruption of a marriage. Those who do not want homosexuals as neighbours has remained just as strong (45% in 1991, 47% in 1995). The majority of respondents in 1995 (75%) much more than in 1991 (67%) are of the opinion that it is proper for the Churches to speak out on homosexuality, possibly to educate on the morality of homosexuality. The apparent incongruence between a relative high moral intolerance of homosexuality and the granting of rights to homosexuals may reflect the Catholic

distinction between homosexual activity and the homosexual person. Homosexual activity is always evil but Christians are required to show love and mercy towards homosexuals.

Separation and divorce

The shift towards individualised values in marriage has its counterpart in a greater vulnerability of relations within marriage. A situation where one of the partners is not satisfied with the quality of the relationship can easily lead to a marriage breakdown. Over the past decade there has been an increase in the percentage of Maltese respondents who find sufficient reasons for the breakdown of a marriage union.

In 1995, the Maltese Values Study asked respondents whether, in principle, they are in favour of divorce. Only 16% of respondents in Malta are favourable to divorce, 56.5% are totally against, whereas 27.5% think that it depends on the circumstances. [Table 8]

Maltese respondents find sufficient reasons for the breakdown of a marriage union when either partner is violent, in the case of a partner having homosexual tendencies and when either partner is consistently unfaithful. Less weight is given to other indications such as when either partner has ceased to love the other, problems of alcohol, unsatisfactory sexual relationship or when their personalities do not match and much less when they cannot have children, when either partner is ill for a long time, when they are financially broke, or when they cannot get on with each other's relatives.

Against abortion

In principle, the greatest majority of Maltese respondents are against abortion (87%); only the very few are in favour (1.3%) or think that it depends on the circumstances (11.5%). The latter would approve abortion when the mother's health is at risk by the pregnancy (96%), but not so much 'where it is likely that the child would be born physically handicapped' (37%), when 'the woman is not married' (20%), and least of all 'where a married couple do not want to have more children' (6%).

Change in gender stereotypes

Over the past decade there has been a gradual shift in culture concerning the role of women in the family and society. The belief amongst most respondents in Malta that a woman needs to have children in order to be fulfilled, has been radically changed from 69% in 1984 to 53% in 1991 and 38% in 1995. The situation has been reversed, as the majority of respondents in Malta (61%) now think that a woman can be fulfilled independently of whether she is a mother or not.

In the intervening four years between the two Maltese Values Studies in the nineties, there has been a marked decline in the percentage of respondents who strongly agree with traditional gender stereotypes, though on other gender issues there has been a backlash. Respondents who strongly agree that 'being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay' has dropped by seventeen percent from 37% in 1991 to 20% in 1995 approaching the 16% European average. Fewer respondents strongly agree that 'a job is alright but what most women really want is a home and children' (26% in 1991, 19% in 1995, 15% the average in western Europe), or that 'a pre-school child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works' (52% in 1991, 43% in 1995, in contrast to 19% for the average in western Europe). At the same time, however, fewer respondents strongly agree that 'a working mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work' (16% in 1991, 8% in 1995, in contrast to 27% in western Europe), that both 'husband and wife should contribute to household income' (24% in 1991, 4% in 1995, in contrast to 25% in Western Europe), or that 'having a job is the best way for a woman to be an independent person' (9% in 1991, 8% in 1995, in contrast to 22% in Western Europe).

The weakening of traditional gender stereotypes would not have been achieved without the introduction of policy measures for the advancement of women in society. Much remains to be done, however, through the implementation of new women-friendly social policies for the promotion of equal opportunities and to counter those negative side-effects that a policy of gender equality can have on the upbringing of children in the family.

Irrespective of the changing roles of men and women in society, respondents in Malta were constantly of the opinion that a child needs both father and mother to grow up happily (93% in 1984, 91% in 1991 and 93% in 1995).

Relative to other western European countries, the Maltese have retained very close family ties, with high demands for reciprocal care between generations. In fact, the greatest majority of Maltese respondents did not change much in their opinion that one must always love and respect parents regardless of their qualities and faults (89% in 1984, 88% in 1991 and 1995, compared to 69% for the average in Western Europe) and that parents' duty is to do their best for their children even at the expense of their own well being (87% in 1984, 90% in 1991 and 84% in 1995, compared to 69% for the average in Western Europe). The slight increase in the percentage of the Maltese holding that parents have a life of their own and should not be asked to sacrifice their own well-being for the sake of their children (6% in 1984 and 1991, 11% in 1995, compared to 19% for the average in Western Europe), suggests a gradual shift towards more individualised family values.

Self-reliance and creativity

The shift towards more individualised family values is best seen in the changing priorities for the education of future generations. In the value priorities that children are encouraged to learn at home, Maltese respondents retain the predominantly traditional qualities such as good manners, obedience, religious faith, thrift, saving money and things and to a lesser extent hardwork but give greater importance to the post-traditional values of responsibility, tolerance and respect of others, independence, determination, unselfishness and imagination. Whereas traditional qualities favour conformity to external authority in the enterprise society, post-traditional values promote a sense of self-reliance and creativity for the information society of the future.

Work Ethic and enterprise culture

The work ethic of the Maltese has retained a strong materialist and pleasantness component, but has seen a considerable weakening of the dimensions of personal and social development. Great importance is given to good pay, pleasant people to work with, a job that meets one's abilities and an interesting job. Over the past decade there has been a gradual decline in the importance attached to the values of job responsibility, achievement, usefulness for society and opportunity to use initiative. Similar decline, however, could be observed for utilitarian qualities such as, generous holidays, job security, not much pressure, good chances for promotion,

a respectable job and good hours. Possibly, most respondents in Malta have become very pragmatic, in that they are willing to sacrifice the developmental qualities of work for higher economic returns.

The pragmatic character of the work ethic in contemporary Maltese society is evident in respondents' greater preponderance to hold that they enjoy work without letting it interfere with the rest of their lives (from 15% in 1991 to 40% in 1995; in comparison to 31% in Western Europe), over and above professional commitment to work regardless of pay (17% in 1991, 22% in 1995; 37% the average in Western Europe) or business-like concerns where job input is directly related to payment (17% in 1991, 11% in 1995; 8% the average in Western Europe).

Most respondents are somehow satisfied with the financial situation of their household (72% scoring '5, 6, 7 or 8' on a 10-point scale), though there has been a decrease in the percentage of respondents reporting high satisfaction (37% in 1991, 20% in 1995 scoring '9' or '10' on a 10-point scale) and a slight increase in the number of those who are very dissatisfied (2% in 1991, 4% in 1995 scoring '1' or '2' on a 10-point scale). Fewer respondents think that their financial position will get a lot better over the next twelve months (2% in 1995, 6% in 1991), the majority are of the opinion that it will stay the same (57% in 1995, 45% in 1991).

The culture of private enterprise and free-market, so much rampant in Malta in the early nineties is giving way to a more tempered participative enterprise, requiring some form of control. In fact, there has been a considerable drop in the percentage of respondents claiming that 'there should be greater incentives for individual effort' (70% in 1991 to 56% in 1995, scoring 8, 9 or 10 on a 10-point scale), that 'private ownership of business should be increased' (48% in 1991 to 33% in 1995, scoring 1, 2 or 3 on a 10-point scale), that 'wealth can grow so there is enough for everyone' (48% in 1991 to 37% in 1995, scoring 8, 9 or 10 on a 10-point scale), that 'individuals should take more responsibility for providing for themselves' (30% in 1991 to 22% in 1995, scoring 1, 2 or 3 on a 10-point scale), that 'competition is good because it stimulates people to work hard and develop ideas' (53% in 1991 to 39% in 1995, scoring 1, 2 or 3 on a 10-point scale), or that 'in the long run, hard work usually brings success' (51% in 1991 to 38% in 1995, scoring 1, 2 or 3 on a 10-point scale).

People in Malta have come to favour middle-ground positions between free reign given to individual freedom and the complete regulation by the State. Such

value options encourage joint projects of participative enterprise between State, industry and private individuals.

Politics

The politicisation and political polarisation of Maltese society during the first half of the eighties has given way to more discrete involvement and mitigated interest in politics. Frequent discussion of political matters (17% in 1984, 8% in 1991, 7% in 1995) has shifted towards occasional discussion (37% in 1984, 45% in 1991, 55 in 1995).

In the nineties the majority of respondents in Malta show little (63% in 1991, 69% in 1995) or no (20% in 1991 and in 1995) interest in politics. Only the few (14% in 1991, 12% in 1995) are very interested in politics. At the same time, people in Malta who hold strong opinions are more likely to exercise their persuasion skills with relatives, friends and fellow workers (55% in 1995, 48% in 1991, 37% in 1984). [Table 10]

Over the past decade, there has been a slight decline in the number of respondents taking part in political meetings (41% in 1991, 37% in 1995), but an increase in people signing a petition (15% in 1984, 30% in 1991, 37% in 1995) and attending lawful demonstrations (10% in 1984, 16% in 1991, 22% in 1995), but not in more radical political action such as joining in boycotts (10% in 1984, 13% in 1991, 11% in 1995), unofficial strikes (4% in 1984, 6% in 1991, 6% in 1995) or occupying buildings or factories (1% in 1984, 2% in 1991, 0.5% in 1995). Possibly political passion is giving way to more social concern. [Table 11]

The average score on a ten point left-right political scale for respondents in Malta slightly favours the political right, even though over the past four years it has undergone a minor shift towards the left (from 6.4 in 1991 to 5.76 in 1995). In 1995, the political allegiance of the majority of respondents in Malta is found to be right of centre.

People are more in favour for society to be gradually improved (57% in 1984, 56% in 1991, 65% in 1995) rather than to be changed through radical revolution (12% in 1991, 7% in 1995) or the strong defence against all subversive forces (23% in 1984, 17% in 1991, 23% in 1995).

There has been an increase over the past few years in the number of respondents who agree completely that 'political reform in Malta is moving too rapidly' (16% in 1991, 49% in 1995), and that they are unable to do anything if an unjust law were passed by government (20% in 1991, 43% in 1995). Quite a few Maltese respondents think that the country's economic system needs fundamental changes (23% in 1991, 26% in 1995) and still fewer think that we are more likely to have a healthy economy if the government allows for more individual freedom (8% in 1991, 12% in 1995). Generally, Maltese respondents are satisfied with the performance of the economy and the freedom allotted for individual enterprise. In their greatest majority, however, respondents in Malta are very much in favour that the government should be made more open to the public (43% in 1991, 69% in 1995). [Table 12]

Political agenda for the next ten years

In the mid-nineties, in their political agenda for the next ten years, respondents in Malta give top priority, much more than in earlier surveys, to the fight against crime (35% in 1991; 49% in 1995) and the fight against rising prices (26% in 1991; 38% in 1995). Other material concerns, on Inglehart's battery of questions, such as maintaining a high level of economic growth (51% in 1991, 34% in 1995), maintaining order in the nation (46% in 1991; 31% in 1995), economic stability (40% in 1991; 28% in 1995) and a better infrastructure (15% - asked only in 1995) also have a priority but their importance is less pronounced than in the early nineties. These priorities, however, are not exclusive of post-material concerns such as more participation in jobs and communities (27% in 1991, 30% in 1995), participation in government decisions (13% in 1991, 22% in 1995), making cities and countryside more beautiful (9% in 1991, 13% in 1995), progress towards a less impersonal and more humane society (9% in 1991, 14% in 1995), and protection of freedom of speech (10% in 1991, 9% in 1995).

Higher environmental concern but lower commitment

In the intervening years between the two Maltese values surveys in the nineties, there has been an increase in the concern over the degradation of the environment, but a lesser personal commitment to combat pollution. In the mid-nineties considerably more Maltese respondents do not agree (67% in 1995, 42% in 1991)

with the statement that 'protecting the environment and fighting pollution is less urgent than often suggested'. More respondents have come to reject the view that to combat unemployment the country would have to accept environmental problems (47% in 1995, 31% in 1991). Nor do they think that 'the campaign against pollution makes people too anxious' (45% in 1995 and 1991). At the same time, however, an increasing number of respondents are unwilling to give part of their income for the prevention of environmental pollution (46% in 1995, 28% in 1991), which could include buying environment-friendly products. In fact, in the mid-nineties most respondents (61%), much higher than in 1991 (39%), do not favour an increase in taxes for the prevention of environmental pollution. Most have come to agree (37% in 1995, 15% in 1991) or strongly agree (29% in 1995, 15% in 1991) that the government has to reduce environmental pollution with no additional cost to the tax payer. Of course, a strategy for the protection of the environment would require a concerted effort of the government, producers and consumers. This would include timely legislation to regulate industrial activity, the development of social policies and administrative structures for its enforcement and implementation. Producers are to be held responsible for the control of waste and they should cover the costs incurred to repair the damage to the environment. Consumers are to be prepared to pay higher prices for environmental friendly products. They are to voice their claims for equal access to clean air, land and sea. [Table 13]

Conclusions

Comparative results from the third wave of the Maltese Values Study posit the rise of individualised values in Maltese society. This is most manifest amongst higher educated young professional adults who, in general, are dissatisfied with the teachings of the Church, have less trust in social institutions, favour a more permissive and individualised morality and give priority to post-traditional values of independence, responsibility, imagination, tolerance and perseverance for the education of future generations.

Although the ritual practice of religion has by western European standards remained relatively high there has been a marked erosion of religious identity and a decline in the social significance of the teaching authority of the Church.

There is an apparent incongruence between the marked decline of confidence in the Church and its teachings, a continuing satisfaction with its spiritual guidance,

and an increasing expectation for the Church to speak out on controversial social issues but not to interfere in government policy. Such ambivalence could have various meanings. In a democratic society, the Church and all Churches, at that, have an equal right to teach even if people at large may disagree with the contents or pay lip service to pronouncements. On the one hand, some people could be so much dissatisfied with the present teachings that they want a concerted effort for more relevant guidance on social issues. On the other hand, others could be so much at a loss in a rapidly changing society that they want clear guidelines from their Church.

The process of secularisation in a pluralistic environment favouring an individualised morality and spiritual discernment, requires from the Churches to develop, communicate and evaluate the application of moral principles to changed circumstances and to diverse situations such that informed decisions are taken by responsible, autonomous individuals and the competent constituted bodies or authorities in society.

In the mid-nineties, respondents in Malta have retained a predominantly materialist orientation, with an improved awareness of post-materialist values. There has been an increase in the concern over the degradation of the environment, but a lesser personal commitment to combat its consequences. Just as in other areas of social life, there is a widespread attitude of non-commitment that needs to be countered by an education for a greater sense of responsibility. This would require scientific research for the identification of the causes and consequences of environmental degradation, the diffusion of information about the complexity of the issues, participation in moral reasoning, and the engagement of administrative skills such that resources are economically employed in the management of the environment. The emerging enterprise and information society should have a moral obligation towards the future. Social development needs to be accompanied by a commitment to environmental protection, social justice and post-materialist values.

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Table 1 Order of priorities

	Malta		Europe
	1991	1995	1990
very important in life:	%	%	%
Family	94	95	81
Work	80	75	53
Religion	70	72	21
Leisure	47	60	36
Friends	29	32	43
Politics	12	16	7

Source: Maltese and European Values Studies, 1984-1995.

Table 2 Dislike to be with others of different values, ideas and beliefs in Malta

	1984	1991	1995
	%	%	%
very much	20	11	6
quite a lot	10	4	6
not very much	21	25	23
not at all	44	54	65

Source: Maltese Values Studies, 1984-1995.

Table 3 Social intolerance in Malta

	%	%
Do not want to have as neighbours:	1991	1995
people with a criminal record	78	74
heavy drinkers	62	64
the emotionally unstable	35	37
people with AIDS	47	46
drug addicts	66	70
homosexuals	45	47
Jews	9	20
Hindus	9	21
Muslims	15	28
tourists	4	19
members of minority religious sects or cults	19	33
people of a different race	11	21
immigrants or foreign workers	10	15

Source: Maltese Values Studies 1991, 1995.

Table 4 Confidence in the Church

	Malta		Europe	
	1984	1991	1995	1990
	%	%	%	%
A great deal	67	54	46	20
Quite a lot	16	28	36	31
Not very much	11	14	14	32
Not a lot	3	3	4	16

Source: Maltese and European Values Studies 1984-1995.

Table 5 Confidence in social institutions

	% a great deal	% quite a lot	% not very much	% none at all
Church	46	36	14	4
Health services	33	48	14	5
Press	2	19	56	22
Broadcasting	4	24	56	15
Parliament	8	30	45	16
Politicians	4	26	47	23

Source: Maltese Values Study, 1995.

Table 6. Relevance of Church teaching in Malta

	% 1991	% 1995
Church is giving adequate answers on:		
Spiritual needs	87	86
Problems of family life	79	61
Moral problems and needs of the individual	70	51
Social problems facing the country	68	39

Source: Maltese Values Study 1991, 1995.

Table 7 Sexual non-permissiveness

	Malta	Europe	
	1991	1995	1990
*never justified:	%	%	%
extra-marital affairs	93	89	50
sex with minors	91	91	50
prostitution	91	92	46
abortion	83	91	24
divorce	72	65	16
homosexuality	73	68	40

Source: Maltese and European Values Studies 1984-1995.

*Score '1' on a 10-point justification scale, where '1' is 'never' and '10' 'always justified'.

Table 8 In principle favour divorce, in Malta

	%
favour divorce in principle	16.0
totally against divorce	56.5
depends on the circumstances	27.5

Source: Maltese Values Study 1995.

Table 9 Important qualities in a job

	%	%	%
	1984	1991	1995
Good pay	78	80	76
Pleasant people to work with	75	58	47
A job that meets one's abilities	76	69	46
A job that is interesting	74	52	45
Good hours	63	48	29
A job respected by people in general	58	44	25
Good chances for promotion	49	41	22
Not too much pressure	55	44	21
An opportunity to use initiative	48	38	19
Good job security	57	42	18
A job you feel you can achieve something	48	37	17
A responsible job	34	39	16
A useful job for society	52	38	16
Meeting people	48	33	15
Generous holidays	30	26	7

Source: Maltese Values Studies 1984-1995.

Table 10 Interest in politics in Malta

	%	%	%
	1984	1991	1995
Very interested	9	14	12
Somewhat interested	30	22	29
Not very interested	28	41	39
Not at all interested	30	20	20
Don't know	3	3	0

Source: Maltese Values Studies 1984-1995.

Table 11 Political activity in Malta

	% 1984	% 1991	% 1995
<i>percent have done:</i>			
Signing a petition	15	30	37
Joining in boycotts	10	13	11
Attending lawful demonstrations	10	16	22
Joining unofficial strikes	4	6	6
Occupying buildings or factories	1	2	0.5
Taking part in meetings	n/a	41	37

Source: Maltese Values Studies 1984-1995. n/a = not asked.

Table 12 Social and political attitudes in Malta

	% 1984	% 1991	% 1995
The entire way our society is organized			
must be radically changed by revolutionary action	1	12	7
Our society must be gradually improved by reforms	57	56	65
Our present society must be valiantly defended			
against all subversive forces	24	17	23
Don't know	18	15	5

Source: Maltese Values Studies 1984-1995.

Table 13 Attitudes towards environmental pollution in Malta

	% 1991	% 1995
<i>Strongly agree with the statement:</i>		
I would give part of my income if I were certain that the money would be used to prevent environmental pollution	33	8
I would agree to an increase in taxes if the extra money is used to prevent environmental pollution	26	5
The Government has to reduce environmental pollution but it should not cost me any money	31	29
All the talk about pollution makes people too anxious	15	10
If we want to combat unemployment in this country, we shall just have to accept environmental problems	13	3
Protecting the environment and fighting pollution is less urgent than often suggested	16	3

Source: Maltese Values Studies 1991, 1995.